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Although discrimination and exclusion are doomed according to the law, there appears to be considerable distinction in men's minds between absence of discrimination on the one hand and affirmative measures to implement integration on the other.

Philadelphia has a great deal of de facto segregation. As the population grows, Negroes and whites will become further separated unless fair housing practices are initiated.

Basic steps are needed to begin community integration. Public education must be adequately financed and realistically oriented to meet the needs of the entire population, including the needs of the culturally deprived, so that Negroes will be prepared to compete with whites for jobs and professions. There is a need for city colleges and publicly-financed scholarships to allow all persons, regardless of income, a right to higher education. The economy should supply fair job opportunities. Training programs and implementation of fair employment laws will greatly aid equal job opportunities. Leadership training programs should be provided for all citizens. There is a need for research and education in human relations. Urban renewal programs should make the central city a desirable place to live. Community organizations and agencies should seek ways to encourage support for desegregation. The Negro community should decide whether it wants to desegregate and should be ready to implement its decision with action.

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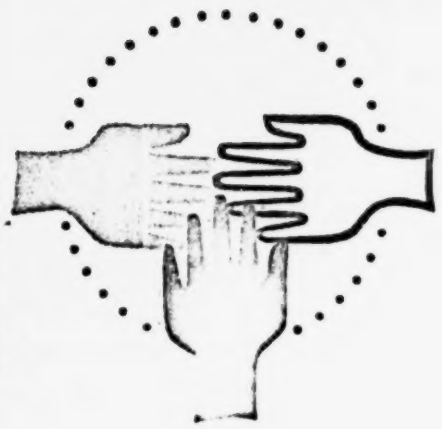

DESEGREGATION...A Community Design

PHILADELPHIA :-: 1961

By GEORGE SCHERMER, Executive Director
Philadelphia Commission on Human Relations

...ould Philadelphia attempt racial desegre...n? Can it be done How big a job is it? W... will the time be right to begin?

...ose Philadelphians who pride themselves as liberals may consider such questions impertinent. "Of course," they answer, "integration is now the official policy of the land. The U.S. Supreme Court has declared racial segregation to be unconstitutional. All that is necessary is to implement the decision. The process is going on now. We have a fair housing practices law. Now it will just be a matter of time. As to whether it is worth doing, why raise the question? Integration is inevitable. It cannot be prevented."

...n a superficial sense, these answers are ...rect. *Some* integration is inevitable. Exclusion on the basis of color, ethnic origin or religion is outlawed in employment, housing, public education, public accommodations and higher education.

The Effect Of Laws

It is a fact, then, that so far as law and public policy are concerned discrimination and exclusion are doomed. The Negro family that has the necessary resources, courage, determination and emotional stamina now has the support of law in breaking away from segregation.

Two crucial questions now confront the community. How much motivation will be required of the Negro family? How many Negro families possess the financial resources and motivation indicated? These questions have been given little consideration by even the most ardent integrationists, either white or Negro.

Thus far the issues have been those of principle, morality and justice. Many a Negro spokesman has said, "We Negroes really aren't interested in associating with white people. We just don't want to be excluded. We want to know that we can enter a given place if we choose to." Many liberally oriented white spokesmen have said, "I think 'they' should have equal opportunity, they shouldn't be excluded, but they should not force themselves or be forced upon us."

Thus, there appears to be considerable distinction in men's minds between the absence of discrimination and exclusion on one hand and affirmative measures to implement integration on the other.

Middle Class Liberals

Due notice should be taken of the growing group of middle class liberals who are uncomfortable about living in an exclusive community. They would like to have integration on their own terms. These people may or may not subscribe to racial quotas in principle, but the integration they seek is not attainable without them. "I want my child to have the experience of knowing Negro children as schoolmates and equals", they say, "but I do not want my child to be in the minority. I want to be sure that the standards of the school will remain high and that the total

standards of the Negro families will be equal to our own." Since these conditions cannot be guaranteed in the areas where racial transition occurs, and most such people are insufficiently committed to devote the time, effort and capital necessary to create an "intentional" community of their own, little comes of their avowedly liberal attitudes.

However, a few creditable demonstrations of the controlled, or "intentional" communities are in evidence. Morris Milgram and George Otto have produced Concord Park and Greenbelt Knoll in the Philadelphia community. Modern Community Developers, founded by Milgram, is an investment corporation committed to underwriting similar developments in any part of the nation. George and Eunice Grier, in a publication entitled *Privately Developed Interracial Housing,* record a total of fifty integrated developments around the Nation, totalling some 8,000 dwellings. Some appear highly successful; others are shaky.

Neighborhood Associations

There has been considerable national attention given to the many efforts to stabilize the racially changing neighborhood. Teaneck, New Jersey; Hyde Park in Chicago; the Ashburton neighborhood in Baltimore; Russell Woods in Detroit are illustrations. In Philadelphia, Strawberry Mansion Council of Block Organizations, Sedgwick Neighbors, West Mt. Airy Neighbors and Garden Court Association are just a few of the groups that have tried, or are trying, to stem the tide of total change. The formula is fairly standard—a racially inclusive neighborhood association is formed; neighbors candidly and mutually avow an intention to maintain a balanced, integrated residential pattern; the white residents pledge themselves not to flee; various techniques are employed to combat exploitive real estate practices.

These efforts often have succeeded in reducing panic and flight. The whites move out more slowly. There is less dumping of property on the market at sacrifice prices. With less panic selling, the sellers and brokers are more selective of their Negro buyers. A more stable, better quality Negro neighborhood is assured.

However, the neighborhood associations have no control over sales as in the cooperative type community. Few, to date, have sustained an affirmative sales campaign to attract white buyers after a number of Negroes have moved in. Most such efforts have been carried on in neighborhoods which are contiguous to and under pressure from nearby segregated areas. It is doubtful that those changing neighborhoods which constitute the expanding "edge of the ghetto" can be integrated permanently if the larger house market is not subjected to affirmative measures to promote desegregation.

Powelton Village

Powelton Village represents a movement of somewhat different character. There, it might be said, a new neighborhood is taking shape, displacing one that had gone rather far toward decay. This inclusive neighborhood exercises no legal control over sales. However, a corporation with rather impressive capitalization is engaged in buying, renovating, selling and managing properties. The neighborhood enjoys a favorable geographical location. The corporation and neighborhood leadership have conducted an impressive public relations and sales campaign. While strictly inclusive and non-quota oriented, it has succeeded in attracting an impressive number of white families into an area that had been predominantly Negro.

These various efforts to promote racially inclusive neighborhoods are entirely laudable and should be given every possible encouragement. At the least, they serve as a means of demonstrating techniques for integration. Some of them may be sustained as permanent islands of integration; cornerstones for the broader integrated society which may possibly lie around the corner of the future.

Creditable as they are, it would be folly to suggest that these mark the beginning of the end of segregation. The fact is that, residentially speaking, Philadelphia, like every other large metropolitan area in the country, is becoming more segregated every year. With residential segregation goes *de facto* segregation in the public schools, segregated playgrounds and racially self-conscious cultural, civic and political organizations.

Few, indeed, have tried to comprehend the situation in its full dimensions. Most people simply ignore the situation or seek to escape it. Others, too alert and responsible to ignore so pressing a concern, nonetheless, are content with token achievements, with serving on a committee, or devoting an occasional program of their organization to a discussion on civil rights.

Population Trends

Here, in a few paragraphs, is an attempt to outline the Philadelphia situation in its full dimensions.

The population of the Philadelphia metropolitan area is growing steadily at a rate just a little slower than the rate of growth for the Nation as a whole. (The national rate has been estimated at 19% for the 1950-60 decade, while the Philadelphia metropolitan area rate appears to have been about 18%.) However, all the growth occurs outside Philadelphia city. The city's population has remained nearly static in numbers since 1930. (It lost during the "thirties," gained six percent during the "forties," but 1960 census reports indicate that it is back to within 3% of where it was thirty years ago.) The metropolitan population exclusive of the city has gained an estimated 97% since 1930.

Fifty-four percent of the metropolitan area population now lives outside of the city. Ninety-four percent of this suburban population is white. All but an infinitesimal part of the suburban non-white increase has occurred in those tight islands of suburban segregation found in such communities as Chester, Camden, Darby Township, Yeadon, etc.

There has been a net out-migration of whites from Philadelphia to the suburbs for at least forty years.* This net out-migration was close to 110,000 during the "twenties" and about 90,000 each decade during the "thirties" and "forties". While the Philadelphia white population had remained static in numbers from 1930 until 1950, there has been a decline of 225,158 or 13% between 1950 and 1960.

The Philadelphia white population is considerably older than the Negro population. This is because migrant populations tend to be young. Those were young Negroes who migrated to Philadelphia in the 1940's. They, in turn, have established families and are now of child-rearing age. It was also the younger white people of child-rearing age who sought the new housing in suburbia. A disproportionate share of the metropolitan area white children are growing up in the suburbs. As time goes on, the Philadelphia white population will become more and more adult. At present about seventy-eight percent of the Negro children of the area are growing up inside the city, while at least sixty-six percent of the white children are growing up in the suburbs. Unless drastic changes occur the ratio of white children within the city will continue to decline.

City Segregation

However, these trends toward white and Negro concentration are not a simple urban-suburban phenomenon. Within the city itself, the pattern of segregation is being maintained with almost equal rigidity. As of 1960, 76% of all Negroes in Philadelphia lived south of Lehigh Avenue, north of Moore, between the two rivers and in West Philadelphia between Baltimore and Lancaster Avenues. The entire area north of Lehigh Avenue and east of Broad Street contains less than two percent of the city's Negroes and has shown only infinitesimal gains in non-white population since 1950, while the white population in that area had gained by more than 78,000 persons. During a twenty-year period, 1940-1960, the non-white population of Philadelphia increased by an estimated 282,276 (approximately 112%). During that same period, ten wards of the city, having only nominal non-white populations to begin with, showed practically no non-white increase at all, while their white population increased by approximately 217,887 or 103%.

This pattern of residential segregation is reflected in the city's schools. In 1956, 26% of the elementary schools were 80% or more Negro in attendance, while 51% were 80% or more white in attendance. The annual trend is toward an increase in the predominantly Negro schools.

Negro Population Growth

In all this, it is important to keep in mind that the relative increase in the number of Negroes in the metropolitan area is by no means overwhelming. Negroes constituted about 9.5% of the total population in 1930 and are estimated to be no more than 16% in 1960. Dr. William Wheaton, at the Institute of Urban Studies, worked out projections indicating that the ratio should level off to 20% by 1980. The present ratio of one Negro family to six white families, if evenly distributed throughout the area, would fall well short of what Dr. Morton Grodzin calls the "tipping point" of a neighborhood.

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* A net out migration is indicated if the population figure at the end of a period is less than the figure at the beginning plus births and minus deaths. A city population may show an actual increase in numbers and still reflect a net out-migration.

The problem is presented by the fact that the Negro population is so heavily concenttrated into a pattern of massive segregation and that the process of segregation continues. Pending more exact information from the 1960 census, it may be estimated that about 6,055 additional Negro households are formed in the metropolitan area annually. Eighty percent of these are added to the city population, and all but a tiny number find their homes in those areas which mark the expanding "edge of the ghetto". Perhaps three times as many additional white households are formed annually and nearly all of them, in addition to the 6,000 or so displaced by Negro families, are established in the restricted white areas of the city and suburbs.

If the metropolitan area were to somehow check the process of segregation—that is, even if the present patterns of concentration were to be preserved and only the *additional* Negro families located into a decentralized pattern—not less than 6,000 Negro families annually would have to find homes in predominantly white neighborhoods. If the greater Philadelphia community were to plan for total desegregation within 40 years, it would be necessary to step the rate up to approximately 9,700 families per year and to somehow attract 3,700 white families annually into the presently predominantly Negro neighborhoods. (These figures do not take into account the relocation required to provide for urban renewal, highway development and the like. The forty-year goal has been suggested here because the City Planning Commission has suggested that its new comprehensive plan could be realized in that span of time.)

Motivation For Desegregation

Is there any possibility that the process can be geared up to such proportion? This question brings us back to the two questions raised above. How much motivation will be required of the Negro family and how many have what it takes?

The answer to the first will be found in the white community. Now that a fair housing practices law is in force and the right to purchse or rent a home regardless of color or ancestry is guaranteed by law, how hard or how easy will the managers of the housing market and the residents of established white neighborhoods make the process? Experience to date with the Fair Employment Practice Law indicates that while the law is an extremely useful device, few people are likely to assert their rights under the law in the face of opposition or discouragement. The law can prohibit a seller or agent from *refusing* to sell, but it is less likely that it will cause them to (affirmatively) merchandise their product in a manner they consider contrary to their best interests. At present, the operators of the housing industry are in the habit of merchandising their product to whites only except in those neighborhoods where white buyers are slow, in which case they merchandise with equal vigor to nonwhites. It appears obvious that significant incentives to merchandising housing to whites and Negroes alike must be found or the industry will drag its feet in every way it can.

Do Negroes Want Integration?

The answer to the second question will be found within the Negro population. How much do Negroes want integration? Even though as far as the law is concerned the barriers are down, two things may be assumed: that for a number of years to come the Negro who seeks a home not specially offered for Negro occupancy will receive a cool reception; and that realty agents are actively seeking his patronage in the "changing areas"—the edge of the expanding ghetto. How actively will the Negro buyer resist the latter and seek the former?

There is little experience upon which to base an answer. Morris Milgram learned that when he offered houses for sale in an integrated development, prospective Negro customers flocked in at such a rate he had to establish quota controls to prevent the development from becoming all Negro. Levittown is only a short distance away. Several additional Negro families have moved in there without a ripple of resistance after the demonstration against William Myers, Jr., in 1957. Several hundred houses forfeited to the Veterans Administration have been for sale there. Legally the VA could not have refused to sell those houses to a qualified buyer regardless of race. The houses were listed with private brokers who, no doubt, sought white customers and avoided Negro prospects. However, Negroes would have had little difficulty buying those houses if they were financially competent and reasonably persistent about it. The evidence shows that few Negroes are ***that*** strongly motivated.

Impact of Merchandising

The preponderant evidence of the moment suggests that Negroes and whites alike are influenced more by merchandising techniques than by concerns for integration. It is a fair guess that the law alone will not greatly alter marketing habits. A fair housing practices law is essential to any program for integration, but by itself it is likely to produce no more than a token process. Unless there are affirmative programs to encourage Negro families to leave the protection of the ghetto, only the most strongly motivated will assume the role of the pioneer.

This brings us to another of the questions raised at the beginning of this article. Is integration really worthwhile? Admitting that overt exclusion is wrong and having granted Negroes the right to get the homes of their choice if they want to go through the trouble, what is wrong with segregation if the majority of the population prefers it or suffers too much inertia to do anything about it? Is segregation, *per se,* wrong or bad if it is not imposed?

Effects of Segregation

Dr. Kenneth Clark, of City College, New York, indicates that segregation, not just exclusion, is psychologically damaging to the person. GAP, the Group for Advancement of Psychiatry, in *The Psychiatric Aspects of Desegregation,* comes to the same conclusion. In a pamphlet, *From Color Blind to Color Conscious* (American Jewish Congress), disparities in achievement drives between white and Negro children are laid to lower morale produced by segregation. Dr. Morton Grodzin in *The Metropolitan Area as a Racial Problem* lists a long series of urban ills as products of segregation. He holds that the *massive* pattern of present day urban segregation causes serious injury to the city, but believes that numerous small concentrations scattered throughout the metropolitan area would be both wholesome and more feasible than total integration.

Unquestionably, the preponderance of documented evidence indicates that segregation, *per se,* in addition to the overt act of exclusion, is an injury upon the person and upon society and detrimental to the public welfare.

If this is true, it becomes incumbent upon organized society, the political, governmental, educational, business, labor and religious institutions to launch a program of sufficient dimensions and power to do the complete job. Partial measures to encourage some token integration while the major part of the Negro population remains segregated will not be enough. Stupendous as the job may seem, the problems of coping with continued segregation are even greater.

No plan for long range, total desegregation in a large metropolitan area has ever been devised anywhere in the Nation. The emphasis to date has been upon guaranteeing equal rights and opportunities under the law. This has been an essential first step. The New York City Board of Education has approved a plan for affirmative desegregation of the schools, which has received only nominal implementation. Dr. Grodzin, in the monograph mentioned above, and Dr. Oscar Handlin, in *The Newcomers,* have attempted a broad treatment of the subject. Beyond these there is little in the literature or in action that can be used as an attempt at a comprehensive look at the total problem.

Timetable

A forty-year timetable has been suggested above only because it ties in with the City Planning Commission's timetable for realization of the comprehensive plan. There is nothing magic about this number and the timetable could be shortened or stretched out. It is highly doubtful that the forty-year tempo could be realized in the first five years. If it were, a total of 48,660 Negro families would have been desegregated by 1965 and 18,385 white families would have been attracted into the central areas of the city. Realistically speaking, the beginning will be much slower and the tempo twenty years from now would have to be much greater.

Some of the terminology used above may cause the reader to recoil. It may smack of manipulation; of moving people as pawns; of public management of private affairs. "Social engineering" has an ominous sound. This language has been necessary to convey the dimensions of the problem. The actual programming will have to be in accord with democratic principles, a free and open housing market, and freedom of choice. Law and machinery of government will be required to guarantee equal opportunity; to supply fiscal incentives for open market operations by the housing industry, and to underwrite the costs of research and education. However, law and government alone will never succeed.

There will have to be a popular sentiment and organized civic movements reaching the proportions of a sustained crusade.

While the core of the problem and the measure of success lie in residential desegregation, the program must be broad and comprehensive, involving almost every aspect of community life. Many of the elements required will seem to have little direct relationship to the issue of racial segregation, yet failure in those elements will spell failure on the integration front.

A 16-Pt. Program for Philadelphia

Following is a partial list of the requirements for a long-range, comprehensive process of desegregation in depth:

1. A public education system adequately financed and realistically oriented to meeting the educational needs of the entire population, including the needs of the culturally deprived, so that Negro children and young people will be as well prepared as, and capable of competing with whites for jobs and professions. This includes affirmatively realistic guidance to enable the Negro youth to cope with subtel practices of discrimination.
2. City colleges or a system of publicly financed scholarships to enable all persons regardless of income status to obtain higher education in accordance with ability and merit.
3. A metropolitan economy geared to supplying job opportunity for the entire population. This means aggressive encouragement to industry and commerce.
4. Publicly sponsored training programs either under public education or within industry, or both, to develop within the Philadelphia area population the skills essential to the economy. Equal opportunity to gain the training must be guaranteed by law and in practice.
5. Full implementation of the fair employment laws plus greatly accelerated educational programs to promote genuine equality of economic opportunity and to develop the motivation and incentives for vigorous competition for jobs and higher skills on the basis of merit. Negroes must become economically enabled to compete for housing on the same basis as whites.
6. Leadership training programs for all citizens, including Negroes, geared in with affirmative measures to include Negroes on executive and managing boards of business, civic, health and welfare, and educational institutions.
7. Effective administration of the state fair housing practices law in both the suburban areas and in the city.
8. Substantially increased appropriations to both the city and state commissions on human relations for research and education. The present research and education program of the Philadelphia Commission on Human Relations contains most of the necessary elements in microcosm, but needs to be greatly expanded at both the local and regional levels.
9. Conscious commitment and imaginative planning by urban renewal authorities so that the urban renewal program will be a major instrument for creating well-balanced, cosmopolitan neighborhoods in the central city. Redeveloped areas must provide housing and neighborhood facilities of such quality as to be fully competitive with suburban living and so priced and financed that white and Negro alike will be attracted to live there.
10. Advancement of central city shopping, educational, cultural, recreational, amusement and sports facilities and programs to make the central city area a highly desirable place for living.
11. Amendments to federal housing legislation providing for fiscal incentives to home builders and to the housing industry generally to merchandise affirmatively their housing developments on an open market basis. However, the industry should not expect to be "paid" to do what all other segments of the economy are expected to do as a matter of course. With or without governmental incentives the housing industry has an obligation to implement desegregation affirmatively.
12. Federal or state financial aids to neighborhood conservation and rehabilitation programs, including fiscal encouragement to cooperative, non-profit neighborhood corporations operating on racially inclusive principles.
13. Civic organization support for the desegregation program *per se* and for all of the above. Such support should be both on a broad basis and in depth. Business, industrial and trade associa-

tions, labor, fraternal, veterans' and women's oraganizations should set up committees to study the issues of racial segregation and integration and to recommend appropriate actions for their organizations.

14. Religious groups of all faiths should continue to examine their policies and practices and to challenge their members to do the same in their personal affairs and behavior.

15. Privately organized and financed intergroup agencies such as Fellowship Commission, Fellowship House and the National Conference of Christians and Jews need to be strengthened in terms of membership, fiscal support and effective program.

16. The Negro community, through its own institutions and press, must decide whether it is really interested in affirmative programs for desegregation or whether it aspires primarily to greater opportunity and better living conditions, letting the chips of segregation fall where they will. If the decision is in favor of affirmative desegregation, there must be a readiness to implement it in terms of increased emphasis upon training, constant probing for new opportunties, risk-taking and pioneering for jobs, business opportunities and for homes in areas well removed from the existing racial ghettos.

If the above sixteen-point program seems overwhelming in its proportions, it should be recognized that at least ten of the sixteen are essential to a good community whether there is to be an affirmative program for desegregation or not. The ones that represent the greatest problems in terms of law, new legislation and governmental expenditures are included in those ten. While a fair housing practices law will be a significant and important step, and the appropriations required for increased operations of local and state human relations agencies are essential, neither one presents a monumental hurdle or a large financial burden as compared with the proposals for adequate public education, higher education, urban renewal, center city redevelopment, industrial growth, manpower training and the like. The principal challenge on the integration front is that of making up the public mind, of keeping the issues under constant, intensive examination and discussion.

Conclusion

The timid should be reminded that the Negro population of Greater Philadelphia will grow just as fast with or without integration. If Philadelphia is prosperous the population will grow faster, including the Negro population. To reduce the rate of population growth Philadelphia must starve its industry; it will not consciously do so, although it may do so inadvertently. The growing Negro population will have to find its housing either through integration into the general house market or by displacing white people from areas contiguous to the growing ghetto. If Negroes continue to get their homes primarily by displacing whites as the ghetto is pushed out, both the whites displaced and the Negroes will be resentful of each other and will view each other as enemies. If an open market becomes the rule and the boundary lines between white and Negro neighborhoods fade away, the resentment and hostility must certainly decline.

There is one persistent fear that chills the hearts of most white people when they contemplate a racially integrated neghborhood. They agree that there are many Negro families whom they would welcome as neighbors. But they point to those Negro families who are impoverished and exhibit lower or "different" living standards and disorganized behavior. "We do not want *that kind* of neighbor, regardless of color," they say. They can be reassured that *that kind* cannot afford to purchase good quality homes and are unlikely to depart from the shelter of the racial ghetto. Only those Negro families who are economically, culturally and socially prepared will elect to live in an integrated neighborhood. How many such Negro families are there and will there be? A good many more than the machinery of the housing market is likely to serve on a desegregated basis in the immediate future. If the above program is implemented, the Negro population will make ready as fast as the community at large makes ready to accept them.

Is the public ready to have such a program imposed upon it. No, the public will never be ready to have it imposed. But, the public has no choice other than to face the issue and to make its own decisions, wise or otherwise. It is the responsibility of the human relations agencies and civic organizations to present the issues and to suggest the solutions.

This is revision of an article which originally appeared in the ADA NEWS of July, 1960.